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854 757 or stomach-ache, the mother cuts the skin on his temple or belly and allows blood to flow from the wound.[5] In this sphere, therefore, an infant experiences pain without anticipating any possibility of its reduction except by slow and natural means.

854 • 865 Very few aggressive responses are established during infancy. The infant is not big or strong enough to alleviate pains by removing the source. Loud crying is, however, established at this time. A parent will say, "The infant is cross."[6] Nevertheless, a mother helps her infant even if he is crying angrily. In fact, the louder he cries, the more effort she expends trying to aid him, so that aggression is rewarded rather than punished. Infants also gain some success in the technique of killing mosquitoes, an act classed as aggression in Kwoma culture.[7]

858 As regards prestige, the Kwoma infant enjoys in a sense the most dominant social position that he will ever attain. His every command is obeyed, and all his wants are attended to. For the remainder of his life he can only expect to have his commands obeyed after he has, by the expenditure of considerable effort, gained a position of high prestige.

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[5] Such pains are supposed to be caused by an accumulation of bad blood. This theory will be described below. See chap. iv, p. 61.

[6] *Wejowa*, "to be cross"; or *owambato*, "to speak angrily."

[7] The Kwoma term for killing a mosquito is *yogiga fiju*, "to fight a mosquito." *Fiju*, "to fight," is the general term for aggression.

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861 natural environment may inflict pain upon him. His parents push him around, scold him, and sometimes even spank him.[1] They strike hard enough to give meaning to their commands and scolding, but not hard enough to injure him. His older siblings also scold and punish him. He learns to respond to punishments with two special forms of behavior: obeying and escaping. He learns that if he does as he is told he will not be punished. He also learns that if he runs away when someone threatens him he is less likely to be hit. Kum was playing with a broom one afternoon and started to take it out from under the porch. His older *sister* noticed this and told him to bring it back, starting toward him threateningly. Kum dropped the broom and ran. The *sister* did not pursue him.

866 862 Thus during the weaning period, except when he is in serious danger, a child is forced to give up demanding as the preferred response and must learn new and independent habits. He is aided in this learning by warnings from his parents [869] and older siblings. These warnings are extended to include beliefs about supernatural dangers. Finally, it is during this period that a child begins to experience pain from other persons and learns to obey commands and to escape from threats.

866 862 152 Weaning greatly increases a child's experience of anxiety. His desire to sit in his mother's lap and his fear of being pushed away and scolded for it, the desire to suckle and the belief that there is a *marsalai* in his mother's breast, the wish for his demands to be heeded and the punishments he receives for crying, all are anxiety-producing sources of conflict. As has already been shown, obeying, escaping, and learning new habits are the means by which he reduces these anxieties. Sickness, however, remains an unresolved source of anxiety.

865 Aggression still plays a minor rôle in the life of a Kwoma during the weaning period. In some ways aggressive behavior is less successful at this time than it was during infancy. Although the child becomes more adept at killing mosquitoes

[1] Kwoma parents customarily spank their children by striking them between the shoulder blades with their open hands. They do not hold the child, but chase him if he attempts to escape. The child is usually able to elude the parent after one or two blows have fallen.

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and eliminating similar minor dangers, he is now punished for becoming angry with his parents, as was shown by the scolding received by Kum for crying loudly for his mother. 865

In the realm of prestige, the Kwoma child during the period of weaning plunges from the very top to the very bottom of the social hierarchy. Most of the commands which he issues are now ignored, and the help which he expects is denied him. Furthermore, he has to learn to obey the commands of others during this period. His control over his social environment is at a minimum. 858

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Older *brothers* scold younger *brothers* for showing a precocious knowledge of cult affairs, or for not heeding their warnings and younger *sisters* for annoying them or for not carrying out their household chores properly. 861 602

A boy is most frequently hurt by his older *brothers* in the course of games. The most popular sport consisted in kicking a pith ball up a slight slope against the side of a house and then, when it rolled down, kicking it back up again. In this, as well as in the dart-throwing and "homosexual" games, the older and bigger boys tease the younger one and knock him out of the way when he interferes. They order him to retrieve the ball or the pawpaw when it bounds into the bushes, or to throw the target rock for them. In the "homosexual" game it is the smaller boy who is usually at the bottom of the pile and who is called "wife" by the older boys. 861 524 [602]

A child becomes adept at avoiding punishment from older persons by obeying, escaping, lying, and being secretive. He learns that if he does not do what he is told, a blow will follow; that if he persists in doing what he is told not to do, he will be beaten. Thus he not only learns to obey commands, but also to anticipate the commands, that is, to follow custom. He also learns that, if he has disobeyed, he can often escape punishment by running away from the person who has issued the command, or by lying if someone accuses him of doing something wrong. Finally, he learns that he can do things of which the older people disapprove, if they do not observe him. He therefore learns to be secretive. Smoking in the bush house is one example. Masturbation may be another. A child also learns secretly to beat cult-gong rhythms, being careful that no older person is present when he practices. Kwoma parents do not punish a child for lying or being secretive; they only punish him if the misdemeanor is discovered. Children therefore become very adept in these arts of deception. 861

A child has his first success in social aggression toward his younger siblings. They, being smaller than he, are easily overcome when they threaten or interfere with him. When they get in his way in games, it is not difficult to shove them 865 602

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• 865 602 aside nor dangerous to command them to get out of the way. If they jostle him when he is about to throw a dart into a pawpaw, he can kick or beat them without fear of effective retaliation, and he is rewarded for doing so when they thereafter keep out of his way. If younger *brothers* or *sisters* take some food which he intends to eat, he can force them to give it back if he catches them at it or prevent a future recurrence by punishing them after the event. When younger siblings tag along despite his wish to be with boys of his own age, he can command them to stay behind and back up the command with a blow if he is not heeded.

Such is the success of aggression toward younger siblings that a child often expresses it even when they do not threaten or annoy him. Kwoma boys and girls continually tease their younger *brothers* and *sisters* and order them about apparently for the pure joy of it. Presumably by so doing a child both reassures himself that he is in a position to be successfully aggressive toward these younger children and at the same time finds expression for the aggression generated by older persons which he usually dare not manifest.[12] Thus he gains practice in expressing aggression toward persons who are not responsible for producing it—a type of response which he frequently employs in later life.

Toward the end of childhood, when social aggression has been greatly strengthened by success with smaller persons, a child may sometimes express it toward those older than he. If he does so, he usually escapes immediately afterward. It is, so to speak, "hit and run" aggression. Fit's feud with his older *brother*,[13] Mey, exemplifies this. One morning Mey was teasing Fit as they were eating breakfast. Fit lost his temper and cursed Mey by telling him to cohabit with his sister. Mey

[12] As soon as a child learns to be aggressive in response to a threat, this behavior tends to assume ascendancy over avoidance, because in the former case the goal of the activity in progress need not be given up, whereas in the latter it often has to be. Thus a child should develop a wish to be aggressive toward his parents rather than to obey them, but, since he dare not do so, he takes it out on his *brothers* and *sisters*.

[13] Mey was only slightly older and bigger than Fit. I should guess twelve and ten as their respective ages.

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returned the taunt, whereupon Fit hit him on the head with his fist. Mey scrambled up, grabbed a burning brand from the fire, and ran after Fit, who had started to flee. Mey managed to strike Fit twice on the back before the latter made good his escape. The next day Mey reported that Fit had stolen or destroyed the contents of his (Mey's) net bag and fled to his mother's house in another hamlet.[14] Fit did not return for a month. All went well for about two weeks thereafter. Then one afternoon the two began wrestling at a time when Fit had a razor blade in his hand. Fit lost his temper in the scuffle and cut a deep gash in Mey's lip. He then ran away, but, hearing indirectly that Mey did not bear a grudge, returned after a couple of hours. Two weeks later Fit stole a knife from Mey and again ran away to his mother. 865 • 602

A child is sometimes aggressive even toward his mother and father. For the most part, he expresses it indirectly in such ways as grumbling under his breath when he receives an order from them, or insulting them behind their backs. Sometimes, however, the tendency to aggression becomes strong enough to overcome fear of retaliation. Gwiyap reported that, when he was a child, he had been infuriated with his father for scolding him, had seized a spear, and had attempted to run it through his parent, but someone present had prevented him from carrying out his purpose. He also told of an occasion when he had struck his stepmother. She had been sitting by the fire cooking and had asked him to pass her a ladle. He delayed in doing it, and she began to scold him. He became angry at this and "punched her in the nose." She picked up a stick to beat him with, but he ran away. Mey reported a similar story of an occurrence several years before. He said that he was lying on a platform which was built shoulder high on the limb of a tree in front of his house. He had a sharpened stick in his hand and was lying in wait for his mother because he was angry with her. Finally, she came close to the platform and he jabbed her several times as hard as he could on her head and shoulders. According to 865 593

[14] Fit's father had died, and his mother had married a man of another sib.

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865 593 [604] Mey's story, the blows knocked her down and gave him a chance to scramble off his perch and dash away. His mother chased him, but he had too great a start. Both Gwiyap and Mey reported that they stayed at a *paternal uncle's* house after these incidents until their parents' anger had cooled. When they returned, they got a scolding but were not otherwise punished.

867 602 A child is taught to be polite, not aggressive, toward those of his relatives who do not dwell in the hamlet. He learns to behave properly toward his *mother's brother*, his *mother's sister*, his *father's sister*, and their children. A child's parents teach him to greet[15] these persons and to address each of them by the appropriate kinship term. Although these relatives seldom command a child, he is expected to obey them when they do. Not only is a child punished by his parents if he is rude to one of these relatives, but he is warned that unless he behaves nicely toward them, they will "break relationship"[16] with him. Then they will be like non-relatives, and he may no longer visit them with the expectation of a warm welcome. He may not eat food at their house lest they sorcerize him. Finally, he can no longer avail himself of the special privileges that his relationship to them implies. To the young child this threat of a broken relationship has little meaning; he is polite to his uncles and aunts because he has learned that it is expedient to obey his parents. As he becomes older and discovers that he may help himself to the produce of the garden and sago plot of his *mother's brother*, and that his *father's sister* gives him something to eat whenever he visits her and treats him just as does his own father but never scolds him, the threat of the loss of these privileges begins to become meaningful and he takes care to behave properly toward them.

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[572] A child also learns to behave appropriately (i.e., to be polite and friendly, not aggressive) to the children of his

[576] [15] Greeting consists of repeating an abbreviated form of the phrase, "You and I may eat together without fear of sorcery."

[16] Any kin relationship may be broken, in which case the two persons behave toward one another as non-relatives. This will be described in more detail in later chapters.

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• 865 Social sanctions as well as fear of retaliation play a part in determining the manner in which a child will react to pain from the social environment. Custom as well as natural expediency dictates when it is appropriate to be aggressive, when submissive. Custom also specifies the manner in which either of these responses may be expressed. Members of the community stand ready to punish deviations from custom.

A child is punished for being too submissive. If he runs away when he has a right to retaliate, members of the hamlet who observe such action scold him for being cowardly. If he is afraid to join in the childhood games, he is teased for acting like a baby, especially if he runs away when both he and his brother are attacked. An instance of this occurred when Gwiyap, Mey, and Fit were playing the "homosexual" game. Gwiyap caught Fit and threw him down, and Mey ran away. [593] The boys' uncle, Yat, who was watching, scolded Mey severely for running away when his *brother* needed help. "If your *brother* is in trouble, it is your duty to fight for him."

Children are punished for being inappropriately aggressive. If a child is aggressive when he should be submissive, or more aggressive than the circumstances warrant, he is called to task by members of the community who observe it. Kwoma children may tease, punish, or scold a younger sibling, but may not actually injure him. A child is continually being [602] lectured about the great value which his relatives will have for him throughout his life in terms both of defense and of economic aid. Parents say: "You and your *brother* are 'one blood.' If you hurt him, you hurt yourself." For a boy, the sanction against hurting a *sister* is more severe than that against hurting a *brother*. An aggressive act which, if made toward a *brother*, would pass unnoticed, is punished if made toward a *sister*.

The reaction of the community to the fight reported above between Mey and Fit illustrates the operation of the social [602] sanction on aggressive behavior. Several older *brothers* of the two boys were sitting around the breakfast fire when the fight started. Their reaction was one of laughter and of egging the boys on. Soon after I asked Gwiyap, who had been

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present, if the boys' parents would scold them for fighting. He said: "No indeed; fighting is a good thing. A person who is afraid to fight can never be a big man in the community." When Fit stole the contents of Mey's bag, the latter's *paternal aunt* told him to wait until Fit came back and then do the same thing to him. When Fit did return, I asked Mey if he had carried out his *paternal aunt's* suggestion and he said, "No, my father told me that after all Fit was my *brother* and that I should forgive him."

Kwoma boys and girls thus learn during childhood to avoid punishment by running away, obeying, hiding, lying, and being polite. They learn to fight, tease, annoy, punish, scold, retaliate, insult, and threaten as ways of being aggressive. They become aware that the source of pain or danger, whether it be man or animal, is the most important thing to know in deciding whether to fight or flee. Finally, they discover that if they are inappropriately aggressive or too submissive they will be punished by other members of the community.

Prestige is a motive which in Kwoma society is closely allied to aggression. The advantage of being old and big is strongly impressed on a Kwoma boy. He can successfully command his younger *brother* to perform tasks for him and to get out of his way, but he must submit to similar commands from his older *brothers*. The contrast is even more marked if he compares himself to his father and *uncles*. Not only are they continually commanding and punishing him, but they are also able, because of size and social sanctions, to do things which a boy would like to do but cannot. Kwoma language indicates that the wish for prestige is largely derived from the struggles between siblings during childhood. The term for a man of high prestige is *harafa ma malaka*, which means "big older brother man," while persons are often derogated by being referred to as *karaganda yikafa*, "little child." It is not surprising, therefore, that Kwoma children exhibit a strong desire to grow up.

Kwoma culture provides the boy with a system of beliefs according to which he can hasten the process of growing up.

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882 602 561 554 [794] advantage of the age-grade and cult initiations is that each gives him a defined status superior to those of his *brothers* who have not as yet undergone them. Whereas during childhood a command-obey relationship had to be fought out, and was usually established on the basis of size and age, now the relationship is culturally determined. An initiated boy has the privilege of derogating all those who are not yet initiated, and he loses no opportunity to do so. Gwiyap, Mey, and Ham were all old enough to be eligible for entry into the age-grade cycle when one of the quinquennial ceremonies took place just before my arrival. The adults told them that they could be initiated if they wished; it was up to them. Gwiyap was willing to undergo having his tongue and penis cut and the other hardships of initiation, whereas neither Mey nor Ham dared do so.[27] Gwiyap, after he had undergone the initiation, did not allow them to forget their cowardice. He frequently referred to them as "children," with the implication that he was in a lofty social position which towered above that of a mere child.

882 602 554 156 • 865 On reaching adolescence a boy gives up trying to gain superiority over his adolescent *brothers* by fighting with them in physical combat. For the most part his relative position has already been established by such means during childhood and by the precedents established by temporal priority in the various initiations. Relative changes in status or circumstantial reversals of position are gained by verbal aggression or by efficiency in the various arts which are culturally defined as giving prestige. A boy can gain a superior position over a hitherto dominant *brother* by becoming a better hunter, a more persistent gardener, or being more adept at gong beating, flute playing, or singing in the cult ceremonies.

Such a struggle for dominance was occurring between Mar and Gwiyap. Mar was older and larger than Gwiyap, and had evidently established dominance during childhood by virtue of his greater physical size. He had also undergone

[27] Gwiyap was physiologically pubescent; Mey and Ham were not.

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the initiations before Gwiyap. Mar, however, was a markedly fearful person, whereas Gwiyap was more courageous; Mar had not dared have sexual relations even with his betrothed, whereas Gwiyap had made half a dozen conquests. Mar was clumsy and lazy, whereas Gwiyap was an efficient and hard worker. Mar was, however, still dominant and Gwiyap usually obeyed his commands, although he sometimes refused to do so. Mar did not back up his commands by physical attack when Gwiyap disobeyed him. Gwiyap less frequently commanded Mar and when he did so, the latter sometimes obeyed and sometimes refused to obey him. In particular, Gwiyap gained an advantage over Mar by criticizing the latter when, because of his timidity and awkwardness, he did not measure up to the behavior expected of an adolescent Kwoma. The most noticeable thing about the struggle for dominance between the two boys was that they never resorted to physical violence. Indeed, no case of a fight between adolescent *brothers* came to my attention. Although it cannot be assumed that fights do not occur, it is true that the sanctions against fighting between *brothers* increase as they become physiologically mature. Children, being smaller, are not as likely to injure one another seriously as are adolescents. The sanctions against injury which begin to operate during childhood are increased in respect to adolescents, presumably so that the power of the in-group may be maintained.

The following conflict between Mar and Gwiyap indicates the subtlety of aggression between adolescents as compared to similar behavior between children. One morning Gwiyap was roasting a breadfruit. When it was done, Mar came up and began to help himself. Gwiyap told him that if he wanted something to eat he should cook it for himself. Mar replied that there was plenty for him, too. Gwiyap insisted angrily that Mar eat no more of the breadfruit, but Mar did not heed. Gwiyap then became insulting, and Mar returned the insults. Gwiyap's final response was to get up and leave the fire around which they were squatting and to refuse to eat any more himself. Mar, apparently guilty about what he had

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882 602 554 156 865 done, called to Gwiyap to come back, and promised not to eat any more. Gwiyap refused either to return or to answer and avoided Mar for the rest of the day. He spoke insultingly of Mar when I questioned him about the event.

882 593 602 865 An adolescent boy continues to behave toward his parents and his *paternal uncles* and *aunts* as he did in childhood. He obeys their commands, lies to them when they accuse him of wrongdoing, and is secretive in doing things that he expects them to punish. If he is aggressive toward them, it usually takes the form of disobedience or grumbling. Occasionally he may talk back to them and sometimes even attack them. Informants reported the case of an adolescent boy who had speared and killed his father a few years before my arrival. He had fled after he had committed this crime and was still living in a neighboring tribe.[28]

882 835 602 578 152 The *sisters* of an adolescent boy constitute a sexual temptation to him, since they are the most available sexually mature, unmarried women in the tribe and live in the same hamlet. If he philanders with them, he does so in the face of negative sanctions and of fear of punishment from their *brothers* if he is caught. Even if he dare not have sex relations with them, they nevertheless may evoke in him the desire to do so, and thus produce emotional conflict. To avoid their presence might be the adaptive response under the circumstances, but the necessities of common living and the economic cooperation between *brother* and *sister* militate against this solution. The alternative response of aggression to the frustration which they produce would be dangerous to in-group solidarity and has, furthermore, been strongly punished during childhood. Kwoma culture provides the boy with a solution to this dilemma in the form of a socially permitted joking relationship. This consists of license to exchange insults of a sexual character, mostly mutual accusations of breaking sexual taboos, particularly those of incest.

[682] [28] No drastic sanctions are imposed against patricide since the father has no relatives closer than his son to avenge him. Such an act is considered "unnatural," however, and the murderer is shunned. This was probably the reason for the person cited above leaving the tribe.

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that the boy has hitherto enjoyed, but in addition, since breaking the relationship removes the bars that are erected by kinship ties against aggression, may actually threaten the boy.

An adolescent boy may break his relationship with any adult or adolescent[2] relative. This is the first step that he must take either implicitly or explicitly if he is seriously aggressive toward a relative. After a relationship is broken, all the restraints described in the preceding paragraphs against injuring a relative no longer apply, at least in theory.[3] The two behave toward one another as non-relatives, and the control on aggression between them operates thenceforth as it does between any non-relatives. Sorcery, physical violence, and insult now become both potential dangers and potential weapons. Furthermore all obligations of mutual cooperation are abrogated. To threaten to break a relationship is thus in itself a form of aggression of considerable power. Adolescents learn to use this threat in order to force relatives to fulfill their obligations to them, and as a means of counter-aggression. To use this form of aggression a boy must be courageous, for it lays him open to injury from his opponent.

The following case illustrates the operation of this mechanism in Kwoma society. Gwiyap had for some time availed himself of the privilege of cutting sago from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. One day War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, learned what Gwiyap was doing and commanded him to stop. War claimed that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap and proved his point by reference to genealogy. Since a reciprocal economic relationship is only set up between the closest living *mother's brother* and

[2] It is not until adolescence that a person is considered to have enough responsibility to break a relationship. Relationships, however, may be broken for a child by his parents.

[3] The training which a Kwoma receives during his lifetime to inhibit aggression toward a relative cannot at once be dissipated by simply saying, "My relationship with you is broken." The proposition remains relatively true, however.

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As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*[38] are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry.

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material.

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when

[38] The sons of a person's father's *friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

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he is confronted by a non-relative, or who refuses to retaliate when someone has taken advantage of him, is severely criticized by his relatives. The second factor is closely related to the first. A Kwoma man gains prestige by being called *harafa ma malaka* (big older brother man),[29] i.e., one who refuses to be taken advantage of in any way. A man is respected in his own community in proportion as he is feared in others. To become generally known as *harafa ma malaka* is not a wish prompted by idle vanity alone, for with it come specific privileges. Such a person has fulfilled one of the requirements for membership in the highest stage of the yam cult, and thus need not depend on others to plant his garden. His relatives will be eager to help him when he asks for their cooperation in an economic task, although many of them might find that they had more pressing matters to attend to if he were of low status. A man who has either achieved this status or shown promise of achieving it can also expect to find favor with the most attractive women both in philandering and marriage. Finally, his word will carry much weight in any controversy, either at home or at court. Although this position of prestige is not achieved until adulthood, a man starts during childhood to establish the reputation of being hard, and continues the process during adolescence. During childhood his aggression is directed for the most part toward his *brothers;* with adolescence he begins to exhibit his toughness toward non-relatives.

The non-relatives most threatening to an adolescent boy are the relatives of the girls with whom he philanders. He reacts to them, as we have seen, by being secretive, by concealing the behavior for which they will punish him. He does not dare be openly aggressive toward them, for his relatives would be loath to support him, even non-relatives being granted the right to protect their female relatives. A boy does, however, react with verbal aggression behind the backs of such persons. He boasts to his *brothers* that he is not

[29] Cf. aggressiveness of older brothers and submissiveness of younger brothers. See chap. iv, pp. 57–58.

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882 An adolescent girl also resembles a boy in her responses
602 to punishments from persons living in the hamlet. She usu-
865 ally obeys her parents, but is sometimes verbally aggressive toward them and rather frequently grumbles behind their back.[42] She threatens, scolds, and beats her younger siblings as do boys of her age. Toward her adolescent *sisters*, she behaves in a manner comparable to that of a boy toward his adolescent *brothers;* she tries to gain dominance over them so that she may command them and avoid obeying them. On two occasions while I was at Kwoma, an adolescent girl attacked a *sister* with a stick. The relation of a girl to her *brother* is the reciprocal of that described for the boy. She plays her part in the joking relationship, quite adequately holding her own in the insults that pass between them. In regard to sexual behavior which her *brothers* might punish, she either obeys their interdiction or takes care to hide her actions from them.

882 A girl behaves toward persons outside the hamlet in much
609 the same way as does a boy. She is polite toward relatives
628 who live elsewhere, but has the privilege of breaking relationships with them. She tends to avoid non-relatives except
583 in clandestine love affairs. When she goes to live with her
59 betrothed, however, she has to make a rather difficult adjust-
602 ment to him and to his relatives. In this situation she has
6066 several modes of coping with threats and annoyances from her future in-laws: she may call upon her relatives for help, support, and protection from retaliation; she may submit and become subservient; or she may break the engagement and return to her own home. Girls who are successful in marriage make some compromise between the first two of these modes of adjustment.

882 Adolescence, in fine, widens the scope of experience of
86 Kwoma boys and girls and brings them into new learning dilemmas. They assume new economic responsibilities and occupy themselves with philandering and courtship. They learn to cope more courageously with the physical environ-

[42] Although I have no figures on the matter, it is my impression that girls express verbal aggression toward their parents more freely than do boys.